DR. OBERLAENDER—A PORTRAIT OF THE BUTCHER IN THE BONN CABINET . . . P. 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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"ONE DOES NOT REVOLT AGAINST DE GAULLE"
That's what the General said last September, but he was wrong

THE GENERAL'S HOUR OF DECISION

Algeria revolt ends but the crisis remains to haunt shaken Paris

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

NINE DAYS after European settlers in Algeria launched an uprising in defiance of President de Gaulle, the insurgents were forced to surrender. One of their leaders was jailed, a second was in flight and a third was missing. In Paris on Feb. 2 de Gaulle asked parliament for emergency powers to rule by decree. But the basic problems that led to the revolt remained.

The insurrection started at noon on Jan. 24 when 5,000 Algerian ultras—European diehard colonialists—gathered in the Algiers square called the Forum to demonstrate against de Gaulle for what they considered his appeasement of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). Ironically, it was in the same square that Algerian ultras and the French Army launched their May 13, 1958, revolt which brought de Gaulle back to power and inaugurated the Fifth Republic.

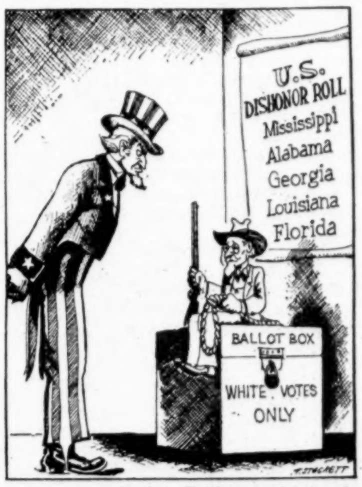
Leaders of the Jan. 24 insurrection were Joseph Ortiz, Pierre Lagaillard, Robert Martel, Auguste Arnould and Jacques Susini. The most influential of this quintet is 47-year-old Ortiz, owner of a cafe near the Forum and founder of the 14,000-member French National Front (FNF). He burst into the headlines in 1957 when he served two months in jail for complicity in the "bazooka" murder of the then Algerian Supreme Commander Gen. Raul Salan's aide-de-camp. FNF insignia is the "Celtic Cross"—a cross within a circle.

NEW PROMINENCE: Lagaillard, 26, is the former leader of the Assn. of Students from Algeria (AGEA), which had been spearheading opposition to the Paris government in recent years. A former paratrooper still enamored of his uniform, his star was waning when the Jan. 24 insurrection brought him back to prominence.

Martel is a 42-year-old farmer from the Mitidja region south of Algiers. He is president of the 5,000-member "May 13 Popular Movement" and served a jail sentence for his part in the "bazooka" murder. Arnold, 40, a pilot of the Air Algerie Aviation Co., leads the War Veterans Assn. Susini, 26, is Ortiz' right hand man and the present president of the AGEA.

24 KILLED: Six hours after the insurrection started, gendarmes attempted to disperse the crowd. In the ensuing battle 24 persons, including eight gendarmes, were killed, 140 wounded. The insurgents set up barricades in the streets bordering the Forum, ignoring de Gaulle's radioed

(Continued on Page 4)



Stocket, Baltimore Afro-American
"Isn't it about time to bring them back into the Union, Sam?"

ADMINISTRATION MOVE MAY SLOW FIGHT

New civil rights plan throws vote bill backers off balance

By Louis E. Burnham

THE CIRCUMSTANCES surrounding Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers' announcement of a plan to protect Negroes' voting rights in the South led many civil rights proponents to question whether the belated Administration initiative would help or hinder their efforts to enact a civil rights bill before the 86th Congress adjourns.

Rogers proposed on Jan. 25 that voting referees, appointed by the Federal courts, be empowered to certify applicants as eligible to vote in areas where the courts have found that a "pattern or practice" of discrimination exists. On behalf of such applicants, supplementary decrees would be issued by the court binding state officials to register the aggrieved citizens, permit them to vote and count their ballots. The referees would have the right to inspect the conduct of these electoral functions. Defiance of the courts' decrees would make offending officials liable to confinement for contempt of court. The procedure would apply to state as well as Federal elections.

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KEFAUVER THREATENS PRICE CONTROL OF DRUGS

Senate hearings disturbed by tranquilizer profits

By Robert E. Light

DOCTORS ACROSS the country recently received a handsomely packaged long-playing record from Carter Products, Inc., of Soviet violinist David Oistrakh playing a Smetana concerto. On the other side, a chorus of doctors sing the praises of Carter's tranquilizer, Miltown, as an aid to expectant mothers.

The company is also generous to its president, Henry H. Hoyt. It pays him an annual salary of $100,000 and in 1957 it granted him stock options which at current market prices offer him a profit of $2,760,000.

But Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) mutinied at Carter's bounty. He thought it was coming from people who pay $5.42 for 50 Miltown tablets which cost 35 cents to produce. He said that Federal price control of drugs might be necessary "if something isn't done."

THE PROFITS: Most of the uneasy story of enormous profits on tranquilizers was brought out in six days of hearings by Kefauver's Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. Four major manufacturers—Smith, Kline & French, Carter, American Home Products Corp., and CIBA—were confronted with charts that showed their profits were three to four times higher than the general industrial average. The hearings also learned that: (1) the companies charge identical prices although their costs are not the same; (2) the companies sell abroad at a fraction of the price they charge here; (3) tranquilizers can be dangerous to some people if not administered properly; and (4) the American Medical Assn. has tried to cover up misleading drug advertising.

To the charges of overpricing, the companies answered that inordinately high research and development costs necessitated high profits. They insisted that profits must also cover the costs of unsuccessful research projects. These argu-

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Don't be surprised

CIRCLE, MONT.

Our political leaders are about to come bearing gifts and making great promises for the peace program they shall have to offer us. It will be hard indeed for fear-crazed and politically and socially illiterate people to resist such an easy and pleasant prospect. It seems almost certain that the mantle of fascism will be accepted in the name of peace.

Peace, in its true sense, is not possible without truth and justice. Our leaders cannot and will not offer us either. We must achieve both by our own effort. It is necessary that we assume dangerous and difficult responsibilities long neglected if democracy is to be revitalized and peace made possible.

So, when the official peace bandwagon comes along with the flags flying and bands playing the **Star Spangled Banner** and **Yankee Doodle**; when millions of momentarily happy people are climbing on for the ride; don't be surprised if I get off the road to avoid the dust and then go trudging on, alone if need be, toward that peace which can come only from understanding the need of universal cooperation and brotherhood among all men in an undivided world.

Hobart McKean

The little Smithereens too

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It seems silly but I can't help thinking how aptly the name Brinkley Smithers fits that man who built a $50,000 fall-out shelter with space for his family and three servants.

S. Bai

Rise of anti-Semitism

CHICAGO, ILL.

We believe the statements suggesting that "communists" may be the instigators of attacks on synagogues is unfortunate and misleading. This suggestion only serves to confuse and divide, and obscures any understanding of the basic causes of this regrowth.

First: It should be remembered that Nazism's prime targets during its rise to power in Germany were the working class organizations **and** left-wing political parties.

Second: While the current attacks contain an element of juvenile hooliganism, they show the existence of a reservoir of backward anti-Semitic prejudice which can be utilized effectively by political reaction. The focal point of the disease is in Germany. American policy in Germany bears a major share of the responsibility for the current wave of anti-Semitic attacks in Germany and their reflection in other parts of the world, including America.

Third: American big business and finance looked favorably upon the rise of Hitler in the 30's, and gave him moral and material encouragement. They saw in the nationalistic and militaristic Hitler regime the creation of a spearhead aimed at the Soviet Union.

A generation later American capitalism is confronted by a powerful Soviet Union which promises to outproduce it, given time and opportunity for further development.

It is well to ask, at this historical juncture, if American capitalism's answer to the Soviet challenge may not lie partly in the attempt to revive the dormant but living monster of Nazi militarism—and if the cancerous spread of anti-Semitic attacks is not an early phase in this revival.

The Jewish community — and all of us—have a right to be apprehensive before this foul echo of the disaster of the 30's and 40's. The danger is real, and must not be hushed up. To meet the danger, the first essential is to seek clarification on its nature and source. It is necessary to understand how the fascist menace grows out of the structure of capitalist society in crisis, and is as capable of growing on American soil as elsewhere.

Howard Mayhew

Little brother

LITTLETON, MASS.

One cannot refute D. K. Halter's contention (in **Promethean Review**) that the British Labor party was and is a handmaiden of the capitalists.

The Labor party's determination not to disturb the permanent civil service or the structure and personnel of the foreign office, or take any other step that might shake the domestic power of the capitalist class at any decisive point during the years it held office, proves emphatically that any party representative of the people that does not have a Marxian base is doomed to failure.

The cocoon of "socialism through evolvement from capitalism" has been the socialists' lot for decades. It has rendered them impotent in every capitalistic nation in the world to the point of creating a spectacle. As a formidable opponent of the capitalists they can be written off as a little brother timid about disturbing big brother.

James Pacy, Jr.

Norval K. Harris

SHELBURN, IND.

We have all lost. I know you at the GUARDIAN feel the loss very deeply. I have never seen such genuine grief for any citizen. He stood by his guns. What more can be said?

Elza Wells

Sack race

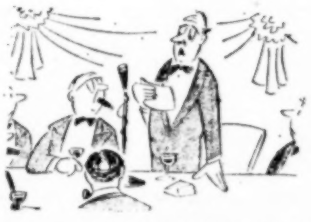
NORRISTOWN, PA.

By eliminating 20,000 workers in one year through automation, Armour will save (figuring about $75 weekly wage per worker) about $75,000,000 a year. Let us assume that increased wages, outlays for machinery and costs due to silent and creeping inflation will amount to 25, or even 30-35 million a year (this amount by the way does not come out from the company's pockets): who then gets the automation leftover-windfall of 40 or more million dollars?

How very nice of the Armours to try to relocate—at much suffering and cost, I presume, and a lower standard of living in the final result—the 20,000 workers thrown out on the industrial junk-heap. True Christians, almost saints, those Armours; their hearts are bleeding for the workers they themselves have thrown out of work.

How union officials can agree to be parties to such a swindle-business is beyond me. Armour gets the sack of gold, the workers just get the sack.

G. Burnstein



London Daily Mirror

"Now a word from our treasurer . . . 'Goodbye'"

Last pigeon-wing

SIOUX FALLS, S.D.

The big press of this country has used millions of words to impose on the minds of the people that President Eisenhower is the only one who can direct the way to peace and economic justice. Why should we be taken in by any such imposition?

The insuperable power of nuclear fission rules the world today, rather than so-called popular men. The power of nuclear fission has done much to reconcile men who have been trained in the art of killing, but all such men must come to know that universal disarmament is the only possible avenue leading to a permanent peace in the world.

Many millions of people throughout the world have been intelligently and courageously pleading and fighting for universal disarmament for the past ten years. Let us cast our lot with the millions—not with some particular popular individual. Many people learned far ahead of Gen. Eisenhower that the late John Foster Dulles was not the man best suited to help bring peace to the world.

In the vernacular of the Hoosier, Mr. Eisenhower is now cutting his last pigeon-wing, but here comes his prodigy, Richard M. Nixon—a man inspired to utter special revelations and predictions. He is always revealing something, but he never pinpoints anything. If Nixon is elected to the Presidency that will be Ike's major mistake. At this time the Democrats do not find it easy to build up an opposition to Eisenhower. Should the Democrats remain too cowardly to build up a case against the President, many will be driven from office, and justly so.

C. E. Ranney

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The formation of an organization to fight the movement of Negroes into Park Forest was announced Wednesday by one of the suburb's home-owners.

He is Herschel W. Ward, 51, of 307 Winnebago, who described himself as a private consultant for personnel security work.

Ward charged that Park Forest officials "took advantage of the Christmas spirit" last Dec. 28, when they "planned, plotted and schemed" to admit the first Negro family to the village.

"We are not opposed to Negroes," said Ward. "We are not opposed to any race. We just don't want them in Park Forest . . ."

—Chicago **Sun-Times**, 1/21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anonymous, Chicago, Ill.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN NEW YORK, the Committee for the Negro in the Arts suggested to the American Broadcasting Co. the possibility of special Negro History Week broadcasts. Replied ABC: "We have no special plans for the observance. . . . Just as we plan no special observance during the year of an exclusively Caucasian history or any other such feature which would designate one race from another in this nation. We believe that, in a democracy of our kind, all men should be color blind in matters such as this."

The committee answered: "Were Negroes to close their eyes, they would still smell the ghetto tenements and feel the slap-in-the-face of prejudice. . . . You may believe in democracy . . . but on the record of your letter, the only conclusion which can be drawn is that you use the word democracy to cover undemocratic actions."

—From National Guardian, Feb. 8, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

New ammunition

SOME BIG GUNS are joining the fight for a ban on nuclear weapons tests.

- In New York the Federation of American Scientists held a press conference at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria to express the Federation's view that the risk that some violations of a test ban might escape detection is "far less important than the gain in security to be achieved through agreement to stop testing nuclear weapons and establishment of an operating international inspection and control system."

The spokesmen for the Federation—its president, Dr. David R. Inglis, senior physicist at the Argonne National Laboratory; Dr. Viktor Weisskopf, professor of physics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Dr. Hugh C. Wolfe, head of the physics department at Cooper Union—pointed out that techniques of detection can be greatly improved, and suggested that an effort in this direction be made comparable with that made by Dr. Edward Teller and his associates "on figuring out how to cheat on the agreement."

- In Ann Arbor, Mich., a group of scientists and public figures called to the campus of the University of Michigan by Gov. G. Mennen Williams for a three-day conference, called upon the U.S. government to speed nuclear disarmament.

"The time to act is now," the Michigan gathering declared in a statement made public by Gov. Williams. "Unlimited increases in retaliatory power, on both sides, will make the balance more unstable, and every new hand that controls the bomb makes its control more difficult."

Like the Federation spokesmen in New York, the group at the University of Michigan pointed out that no detection system would be 100% effective, but added that the risk to the nation's security that some tests may escape detection must be weighed against the risk of allowing negotiations to break down and the arms race to continue unabated.

The Michigan conferees also stressed the importance of encompassing the People's Republic of China in any arms agreement.

"In any general reduction of conventional armaments, or the establishment of inspection zones in Asia to guard against surprise attacks," their report said, "its [China's] participation is essential."

The Michigan group included Dr. Benjamin H. Cohen, former U.S. delegate to the U.N. and President Truman's disarmament adviser; Dr. William Davidon of the Argonne Laboratory; Prof. Hans Morgenthau of Johns Hopkins; Prof. Eugene Rabinovitz of the University of Illinois, editor of the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists**; Prof. J. David Singer of the University of Michigan, and Prof. Alfred Stern of Wayne University.

Last week we urged Guardian readers to act on the appeal of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy for letters to the State Dept. and U.S. Senators in behalf of negotiation and Senate approval of a comprehensive treaty banning all tests under a minimum workable inspection system. The foregoing views may be useful in such letters.

•

THE COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE for Morton Sobell is preparing a pamphlet based on a study of public concern over Sobell's continued imprisonment submitted to President Eisenhower Dec. 28 in a closely-typed 16-page communication.

In addition, the Committee has just received from Israel the text of an appeal sent to President Eisenhower by 15 eminent individuals associated with Dr. E. J. Jarus of Tel Aviv, chairman of the Israeli League for the Rights of Man. The signers endorsed the recent appeal of Lord Bertrand Russell of England and Prof. Martin Buber, Israeli philosopher, for Sobell's freedom.

The signers in addition to Dr. Jarus were Dr. Ludwig Bahr, engineer; Samuel Hugo Bergman, professor-emeritus of philosophy at Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Nathan Bistritzky, author, of Ramat Gan; Nathan Chifski, chairman, Israel branch, War Resisters International; Dr. Samuel Eisenstadt, professor of law, Tel Aviv University; J. Grunbaum, former Israeli Minister of the Interior; Dr. Martin Hirshfeld, Weizman Institute of Science, Rehovot; Mrs. Margot Klausner, Tel-Aviv film director; Martin Nathan M.D., Haifa; M. Reiner and Naftali Schneid, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa; Ernst Simon, professor of education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Prof. N. H. Tur-Sinai, president Academy of the Hebrew Language, Jerusalem; and Anna Weizman, professor-emeritus, Weizman Institute of Science, Rehovot, a sister of Dr. Chaim Weizman, world Zionist leader.

—THE GUARDIAN

YOU CAN'T SET A NAZI TO CATCH A NAZI

Butcher in the Bonn cabinet: The case of Theodor Oberlaender

By **Peter Whitehouse**
Special to the Guardian

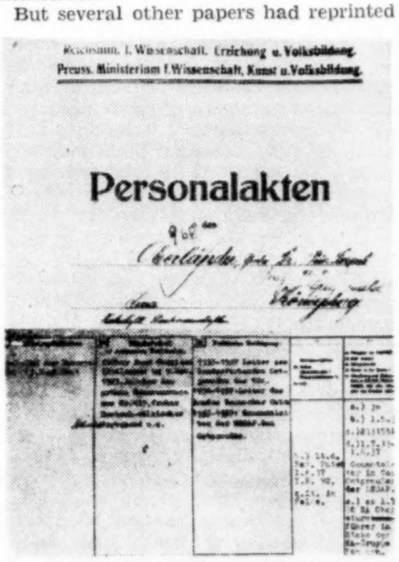
MONTREAL

ON NOV. 15, 1959, Chancellor Adenauer told the London **Sunday Times** that he "tolerated no dyed-in-the-wool Nazis in responsible positions." The case of Dr. Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees in the Federal German Republic, may well make Adenauer eat his words, because Oberlaender, according to the most substantial evidence, is a Nazi very dyed in the wool.

On Jan. 3, 1951, the Jewish Community Council of Munich protested Oberlaender's cabinet appointment on the ground that he was guilty of Nazi crimes (South Bavaria **Volkszeitung** Jan. 3, 1951). The magazine **Spiegel** renewed these accusations three years later. In its April 21, 1954, issue, it said that Oberlaender had been "a prominent member of the Nazi Party and a prominent Nazi personality in East Prussia." At the same time accusations poured in that Oberlaender was filling his ministry with Nazis. On Oct. 15, 1955, Terence Prittie, Bonn correspondent of the Manchester **Guardian,** said over the BBC that Oberlaender was packing his ministry with the "old experts of the Eastern Department of Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry" who, Prittie said, "still have the idea of a German-Polish condominium east of the River Oder."

SCHROEDER STEPS IN: These charges brought routine denials from Bonn, but the magazine **Die Tat** lowered the boom in its issue No. 39 (September, 1959) by publishing detailed evidence of Oberlaender's complicity in Nazi crimes—evidence dug up by the Assn. of the Victims of Nazism (VVN). Bonn immediately confiscated that issue of **Die Tat,** and Minister of the Interior Gerhard Schroeder, himself a Hitler Storm Trooper, applied to the West German Federal Administrative Court for a ban on the VVN because of "Communist infiltration."

But several other papers had reprinted the shocking story. On Oct. 2, 1959, the **Frankfurter Rundschau** demanded that Oberlaender be removed. It said: "The speeches and general behavior of Herr Oberlaender permit only one conclusion: that he has learned nothing from the experiences of our recent past and still adheres to the same positions as in the days of Nazi rule."



Reichsmin. f. Wissenschaft, Erziehung u. Volksbildung
Preuss. Ministerium f. Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Volksbildung

Personalakten

A NAZI'S PERSONAL FILE

Oberlaender's official record from Hitler's archives: Holder of green party card No. 419; head of the East Prussian Branch of the Union of Germans Abroad; participant in Hitler's first putsch (1923); lieutenant in the Storm Troops from July 1, 1938; Nazi Party member No. 2,331,552.

A PRESS CONFERENCE: Bonn dismissed all these accusations as "Bolshevik propaganda fictions" designed to discredit West Germany. But the **Neue Rhein Zeitung** (Oct. 7, 1959) quoted U.S. historian Alexander Dallin in support of the charges. On Nov. 4, 1959, the Social Democratic Party said that "to keep Oberlaender on as a minister is contrary to all the dictates of political reason and tact."

BUT OF COURSE HE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON THEN
Oberlaender (standing) tells the press he was just a young innocent

Oberlaender was forced to call a press conference on Sept. 30. According to **Die Welt** of Hamburg, he appeared with "drawn face and shaking hands" and admitted that he had served in the Nightingale extermination battalion in June 1941. But he denied he had known of or taken part in any atrocities.

A WITNESS' FATE: Just two weeks later a sinister event occurred: On Oct. 15 the West German news agency DPA reported that Stepan Bandera, a former company commander in the Nightingale extermination battalion, who had offered to testify in the Oberlaender case, had fallen down a flight of stairs at his home in Munich. On arrival at the hospital he was found to be dead of cyanide poisoning. Hans Schmitt, head of the Munich homicide department, said:

"The culprits will be hard to find. They evidently have to be sought in circles which the criminal police normally cannot touch at all . . ."

The **Berliner Zeitung** (Oct. 20) declared that "it was an established fact" that Bandera had been "got out of the way" on Oberlaender's instructions. The **Suddeutsche Zeitung** drew the same conclusion.

ORDER OF THE BLOOD: Among the many documents released in the Oberlaender case is one from the Reich Leadership Office dated March 31, 1936. It states that Oberlaender "was a member of the movement as far back as 1923, took part in the march through Munich on Nov. 9, 1923, (Hitler's first putsch) and has applied for the award of the Order of the Blood" (a personal award by Hitler to the earliest and most faithful of his followers). Other documents show that Oberlaender was a Haupsturmfuehrer in the Storm Troops, and that Reichsfuehrer SS Heinrich Himmler had gained "many useful ideas" from him.

The Fuehrerlexikon (leadership listing) for 1934-35 notes on p. 100 that Oberlaender was Reichsfuehrer for the East Prussian Division of the Union of Germans Abroad, the Hitler organization charged with fifth column and sabotage activities in countries due for Nazi takeover. At the outbreak of war Oberlaender was appointed—for his "knowledge in the sphere of theoretical and practical anti-Bolshevism"—to serve with the Wehrmacht High command as an "expert" on the "scientific elaboration" of of the problems of the Germanization of the conquered territories.

100 PER CENT GERMAN: In the April, 1940 issue of the magazine **Neues Bauerntum** (New Agriculture), Oberlaender wrote: "The preservation of the purity of the race is only possible if the alien racial element leaves the area completely. . . . People of alien blood should not be allowed the honor of cultivating German soil."

Oberlaender urged 100% "Germanization" of the Eastern regions by "such methods as resettlement and expulsion." The methods the Nazis used to achieve "resettlement and expulsion" were mass extermination, deportation to slave labor and the gas chamber.

JUNE, 1941: Paul Leverkuehn, a former top Nazi intelligence officer, and at present a member of the West German parliament, writes in his book **Der Geheime Nachrichtendienst der Deutschen Wehrmacht im Kriege** (The Secret Broadcasting Service of the German Army in the War), page 136, that the Nightingale battalion "distinguished itself" in June, 1941; that its commander was Dr. Albrecht Herzner, and that his political officer was Prof. Theodor Oberlaender. According to eyewitness Philip Friedmann (now a professor at Columbia University) in his book **The Extermination of the Jews of Lvov** (1945), June, 1941, saw mass murder and torture by the Nightingale battalion that "beat all previous records for bestiality."

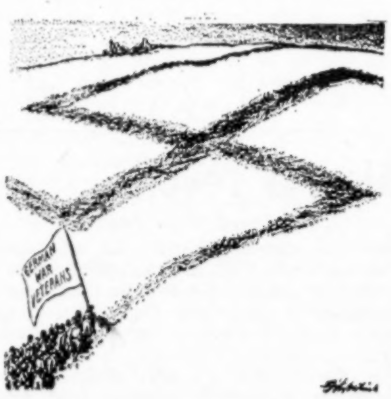
Prof. Dallin, in his book **German Rule in Russia, 1941-45** (1957), says that the Nightingale battalion "displayed considerable initiative, conducting purges and pogroms."

As political officer in charge, Oberlaender was directly responsible.

SAME OLD NAZI: That Oberlaender still endorses the Nazi views he has held all along is made clear in his public speeches. On March 23, 1953, he declared, according to the **Passauer Neue Presse:** "We are working towards one goal, to regain the German East. Neither war nor millions of dead, nor hunger, can daunt the German people." On June 3, 1957, the **Berliner Zeitung** reports him as saying: "There in Russia land awaits us. There we must sink deep roots."

Bonn has announced that it is setting up an "international committee" of inquiry into Oberlaender's "alleged" crimes. The committee is to be formed, according to the **Stuttgarter Nachrichten** and other West German newspapers, by the West German branch of the Union of Resistance Fighters for a United Europe (URPE), which is entirely financed by the Bonn Chancellery, Those sitting in judgment will include a former Nazi major, Wolfgang Mueller, secretary of URPE; Flor Peters, a notorious Belgian Nazi sympathizer; and Kurt Schoch, who was described by Walter Schellenburg, former head of Hitler's secret service, as being associated with Nazi organizations working in Switzerland during the war.

WHAT MAY HAPPEN: Oberlaender may well be kicked out of the Bonn cabinet but, like Otto Brautiegam, who was dismissed as head of the Eastern Department of the West German Foreign Office in 1956—when publication of his diaries proved he had taken part in the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews—he'll still be kept within the Bonn fold.



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Same old trail?

Brautiegam was appointed Consul in Hong Kong, where he awaits recall to a more important post when the heat's off.

Martha Schlamme sings at Town Hall Feb. 14

MARTHA SCHLAMME, well-known folk singer, will give a N.Y. recital at Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd St., Sunday, Feb. 14, at 8:30 p.m. Miss Schlamme, who sings in 12 languages, will sing folk songs of many lands. Tickets from $1.50 to $4 at the box office.

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BEHIND PINAY'S RESIGNATION

Oil from the Sahara Desert a factor in Algerian crisis

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE INSPECTS AN OIL WELL IN THE SAHARA
This newly-tapped wealth has a big role in the Algeria story

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

FRENCH FINANCE Minister Antoine Pinay's departure from the government last month did not shake the country as much as the latest Algerian crisis. But it did reveal a few hard facts about one of the mainstays in the propaganda arsenal of the French extremists in Algeria: Sahara oil.

The oil is no great bargain under present conditions that require constant troop and helicopter guard along the Sahara pipelines. Despite low transportation costs to European ports, Sahara crude oil today costs almost a third more than Middle Eastern oil—50c a barrel against 36c for Middle Eastern. And Sahara oil cannot be easily processed and commercialized outside the refinery and distribution network of the seven big companies, predominantly U.S. and British, that dominate the industry internationally.

Paradoxically, a peaceful and independent Algeria would greatly facilitate the sale of Sahara oil outside this network.

TIGHT MONOPOLY: The Big Seven control 80% of non-Soviet oil reserves in the world. All but one attempt to break this monopoly have failed. When the Mossadegh government nationalized the Iranian Oil Co. in 1952, it could find only one small Swiss tanker—which was soon put out of business—willing to carry the cargo. Greek shipping magnate Onassis was forced to give up his project to help the ruler of Saudi Arabia in 1953 to break away from Aramco's control.

Duttweiler of Switzerland last year made an offer to the West German government to build a refinery at Emden and sell its oil 2c below the price maintained by the Big Seven; Bonn had to call off the deal under threats to undercut the West German coal industry by a reduction of fuel prices.

So far, only Italy's maverick Enrico Mattei and his ENI, by offering Middle Eastern governments a 75% (against the Big Seven's 50%) share in oil profits, has successfully developed an independent Italian oil industry with Europe's largest independent oil fleet and refineries.

CONTROL IN FRANCE: The Big Seven monopoly is firmly established in France. It owns ten of the 14 refineries and distributes 59% of all oil products sold in France. When Sahara oil began to flow abundantly from Hassi-Messaoud and Edjeleh, France, with its share in Iraqi oil, faced a 70,000,000-barrel oil surplus in 1961 and an estimated 210,000,000 barrels in 1965. It was taken for granted that the Sahara oil would be commercialized through the Big Seven.

But last December Paris attempted to negotiate the sale of some oil directly with the European Common Market countries. The Big Seven reacted sharply, but failed to halt the negotiations even with the assistance of former U.S. Ambassador Douglas Dillon. Industry Minister Jeanneney announced the creation of the SIP (Societe Industrielle des Petroles) with 87% state participation. SIP was to build a national network of refineries and gas stations for the Sahara oil companies.

Then Pinay stepped in with a veto. He had long been dissatisfied with President de Gaulle's lukewarm attitude towards a common market of all West Europe. The power conflict between Anglo-American and French oil interests soon became a conflict of what was called Pinay's "economic liberalism" and Premier Debré's "state capitalism" (Pinay calls it socialism). Debré finally won, but many who admired the former Finance Minister as a fighter for Free Enterprise believed Pinay left the government with his chances enhanced as de Gaulle's possible successor.

What happens to SIP remains to be seen. In the past 20 years many have advocated freeing French economy from Big Seven domination. Today, however, the idea has assumed a particular political coloring: to pro-"French Algeria" extremists, it appears as a watertight economic means of tying North Africa firmly to metropolitan France.

But therein lies the paradox. For many potential oil customers are reluctant to buy Sahara oil from an Algeria that remains a French province and thereby risk alienating Arab goodwill and jeopardizing the African and Middle Eastern markets.

The Big Seven can afford to be patient and diplomatic for the present. The monopoly has offered—without any firm commitment — to take over 60-80% of the Sahara output. It also holds a trump card: recent discovery of abundant, close-to-the-surface oil in Libya, an independent country.

Besides, in this contest over oil in a war-torn country, the Big Seven may even have received some promises—if not something more tangible—from the Algerian National Liberation Front.

Algeria revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

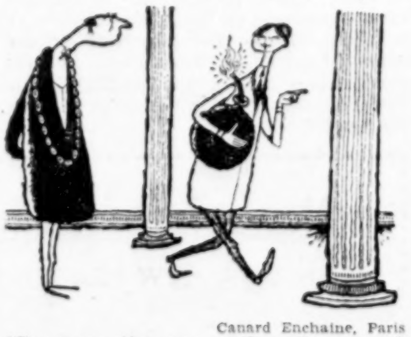
order to disperse. Troops brought into Algiers next day from outlying areas openly sympathized with the insurgents. Paratroop commander Gen. Jean Gracieux said: "I would never order an attack on patriots."

Shops closed in a general strike. Thousands of Europeans brought food and wine to the barricaded insurgents, shouting "Algeria is French." By the second night, the insurrection had spread to other Algerian cities. On the third day thousands more brought arms and supplies and joined the insurgents behind the barricade and Parisians were shocked to learn of the Army's "benevolent neutrality" toward the insurgents.

DE GAULLE SPEAKS: On Jan. 29 de Gaulle donned his general's uniform, went on the air and made a characteristic speech, clear in its command to the Army and the insurgents but cloudy in its reference to offers he had made to the FLN. He called the insurgent leaders "liars and conspirators" who tell their followers that by granting "free choice" to the Algerian Moslems de Gaulle planned "to abandon" the Europeans, "withdraw from Algeria" and surrender Algeria to the FLN.

"I am the supreme responsible one," de Gaulle said. "It is I who bear the destiny of the country. I must therefore be obeyed by all French soldiers [whose] duty is to attain order. I have given—I give— the order for it."

By the time de Gaulle gave this order, all political groups in France except the extreme right had rallied behind him. By Feb. 1 thousands of fresh troops had arrived in Algiers; they dispersed the supporting crowds and sealed off the barricaded insurgents. Afterwards, a face-saving formula allowed the insurgent rank and file to keep their arms by remaining "at the disposition of the army." Lagaillard was flown to Paris for trial. Ortiz had gone into hiding and Martel's whereabouts were unknown.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"I'm presenting my motion of censure."

DIMMED GLORY: Although the ultra's revolt is crushed, the Fifth Republic will never be the same again. France's "grandeur" will fade and de Gaulle's glory will dim. It was no secret in Paris that Ortiz and Lagaillard had been planning the insurrection since last September when de Gaulle announced his offer of self-determination to the Algerians. These two diehards had been organizing armed commandos and contacting sympathetic army officers, and alarming reports of their activities were appearing in Paris newspapers.

The supremely confident French President's answer then was: "One does not revolt against de Gaulle." But events showed that an ex-paratrooper and a coffee-house owner could defy the President of the Republic and the Army—a state within a state—could vacillate between its sympathies with the insurrectionists and its training to obey orders of the head of state. Even though these manifestations were temporary, they neverthless served to expose the fiction of French democracy.

HOUR OF DECISION: The behavior of the ultras and the vacillation of the Army were understandable. The ultras had grown arrogant in the belief that they had initiated the putsch in May, 1958, that put de Gaulle in power to keep Algeria French; since de Gaulle never repudiated their support, they naturally were confident they could overthrow him if he showed signs of allowing Algerians to decide their own fate. The Army has been suffering from an acute sense of frustration since the loss of Syria, Lebanon, Indo-China, Morocco and Tunisia; it could be persuaded to believe at least temporarily that self-determination for Algerians would mean they had fought the FLN in vain.

This would seem to be de Gaulle's hour of decision. The insurrection in Algeria has troubled France's NATO partners and worried Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, who has been counting on de Gaulle to carry the ball for him at the summit meeting in May. It has caused Algerian Provisional Government Premier Ferhat Abbas to express doubt that de Gaulle's recognition of the Algerians' right to self-determination would settle the problem, "since the application of this right would rest subordinated to the good will of an army of occupation and the ultras."

THE BIG QUESTION: The FLN leaders were having second thoughts about a cease-fire de Gaulle has demanded as a precondition for Algerian self-determination; for they know that, once they lay down their arms, it would take years to rebuild a revolutionary force if that became necessary. Pending further clear-cut action by de Gaulle, they urged at the African People's Congress in Tunis on Jan. 31 UN intervention in Algeria and appealed to "brother and friendly countries" to form international brigades in support of FLN fighters. The appeal was wildly cheered at the Congress.

With the present overwhelming support by all shades of political opinion behind him, will de Gaulle take this opportunity to smash the fascist insurrection as well as free himself fully from those to whom he feels he owes his rise to power in 1958? His Jan. 29 broadcast gave little hint of such a forthright decision; it was, in fact, so obscure on basic issues that many ultras are already interpreting it in their favor.

If the ultras are right, the future would seem to be dark for France and for an early settlement of the Algerian war.

Dr. Du Bois to speak in New York Feb. 12

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, Negro scholar and historian, will speak in celebration of Negro History Week Friday, Feb. 12, at 8 p.m., in the Grand Ballroom of the Victory Mutual Life Insurance Co., 110 E. 125th St. (off Park Ave.), New York City.

Dr. Du Bois will speak under the auspices of the Market Place Gallery in the second lecture of a series devoted to the contemporary scene.

Contribution is $1.50. Reserved seats may be purchased in advance from the Market Place Gallery, 2305 Seventh Ave., New York 30.

First Unitarian Church offers H3 talk Feb. 12

CECILIA ROSENFELD, M.D., recently returned from a visit to the clinic of Dr. Anna Aslan in Rumania and health centers in Moscow and Leningrad, will speak on "New Medical Horizons: A Report on the Treatment of Novocain (H3) as Practiced in Rumania and the Soviet Union" at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles Friday evening, Feb. 12, at 8 p.m.

Dr. Rosenfeld attended conferences with Soviet geriatric specialists and brings back first-hand knowledge of medical developments abroad. Admission to the forum is $1. Tickets can be purchased at the church office, 2936 W. 8th St.

THE ROSY GLOW FADES UNDER A CLOSE LOOK

President's economic report a GOP campaign document

By **Russ Nixon**
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

"ALL'S WELL, don't rock the boat," says the Economic Report the President presented to Congress Jan. 20.

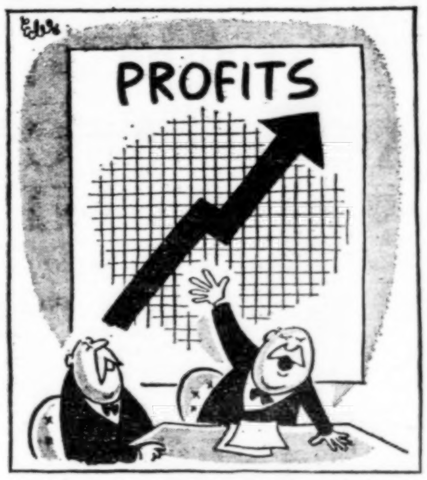
Prepared by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the report, proclaims the "Prosperity" part of the "Peace and Prosperity" slogan which the Republican National Finance Committee says "describes the two monumental Eisenhower accomplishments." As it did for the Conservatives in Great Britain last October, the slogan is counted on by Republicans to bring them victory in November.

The report is thus a prime piece of Republican Party campaign literature. A mixture of fact, fancy, and Philistine philosophy, it represents the best case a conservative Big Business government can make for itself and its plans for the future. The main points are:

- The economy is booming and "the outlook is good for an extension of growth through 1960 and beyond."
- The U.S. has the "highest living scale in the world" which can continue to rise in spite of "a heavy defense burden."
- Everybody should "be good." A Presidential sermon says "consumers should spend wisely . . . buy carefully for price and quality"; corporations should reduce prices whenever they can; and labor should speed up its output and slow down its demands for more wages.
- Not much legislative action is needed, except not to spend more than the President requested, and to use his projected budget surplus to reduce the national debt. A "system of shared responsibility" is described "to get the job done by individuals and private groups and by government at state and community levels . . . and lessen the danger of Federal encroachment . . ."

PROFITS AT PEAK: Within this smug account are some hard and significant facts. The total output of our nation's goods and services, the gross national product, reached an annual rate of $482 billion at the year's end—the half-trillion mark, $500,000,000,000, will soon be passed. Profits before taxes hit a record peak of $53 billion in 1959 just before the steel strike.

A special statistical appendix details "The Diffusion of Well-Being, 1946-59." The real per capita disposable personal income (after income taxes and after adjustment for price rises) was $1,891 in 1959, a rise of $286 since 1946. Average family income after taxes and after correction for price changes rose from $4,760 in 1947 to $5,830 in 1959. Seventy percent of all families own an automobile, 61% of non-farm dwelling units are owner-occupied, 90% of all wired homes have TV, 98% have refrigerators, and 93% have electric washers.



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Gentlemen . . . Leap Year"

In this period since World War II, the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births has fallen from 33.8 to 26.3, and the maternal mortality rate fell from 1.57 to 0.38. Diptheria has dropped from 16,354 cases in 1946 to 930 in 1959, TB from 119,256 to 75,000 cases, typhoid fever from 3,268 to 900 cases, and smallpox has disappeared entirely.

A CLOSER LOOK: But the President's rosy picture fades under critical examination. Concern over recurring recessions is minimized, and the report belittles the fact that about half the time since World War II our economy either has been sliding down or climbing out of the trough of a recession.

The President is cautious in his economic forecasting: "It is always difficult in a dynamic, free economy such as ours to depict in advance the course likely to be taken in production, employment, and income." But he does "expect" the present expansion to hold up during 1960, and he even says with only a couple of "ifs" that it might continue "well beyond the present year."

The Economic Policy Committee of the AFL-CIO charged that the President "failed to grapple with the fundamental problem facing the American economy—namely, that a full year after the end of the recession, 5% of the labor force is still unemployed and almost one-fifth of the nation's productive capacity still lies idle." The President's report claims that "in general, unemployment rates in the U.S. have not been high."

THE OMISSIONS: With all its statistics, the report does not make clear how many workers exhausted their unemployment benefits, or correct its jobless estimates to include involuntary part-time workers and would-be workers excluded from the labor force by lack of job opportunities, nor does it point out that about 12,000,000 workers experienced unemployment during 1959. The significant chart in last year's report which showed the big unused manufacturing capacity was deleted this year.

The report conceals in a welter of general averages and "total" figures the economic hardship of millions of low-income people, including especially minority groups. The suffering and insecurity of millions of aged persons is drowned in "overall" social security data. The income data does not reveal that more than 50% of all American families have annual incomes below the level of carefully calculated minimum family budgets.

The President reports that "the shortage of housing . . . has been virtually eliminated," and thus ignores the existence of widespread slums and the decay of our cities. The steady erosion of the standards of social security, minimum wages, and unemployment compensation is not revealed. The widely acknowledged educational shortages are hidden behind statistics showing increased school enrollment, more dollars spent for education, and more Doctoral degrees being granted. Our lag in scientific research and training is glossed over with the observation that "since 1946, close to half of the Nobel awards for contributions to medicine, chemistry, and physics have been bestowed on American citizens."

The fact that we have fewer physicians and dentists per 100,000 population today than we did in 1949 is carefully tucked away in Table C-30, page 147. Hit-and-run treatment is given the fact that the realized net income of farm operators from farming fell from $13.1 billion in 1958 to $11 billion in 1959. The relatively new problem that for the past two years the U.S. has had an annual $4 billion deficit in its international balance of payments was met simply with a hope that the situation would improve.

SOME DISSENTS: The nearest thing to a Democratic answer to all this appeared in a majority report of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee on "Employment, Growth, and Price Levels." Issued Jan. 26 and prepared under the guidance of Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), the document charged the Eisenhower Administration with causing economic growth to stagnate at a 2.3% rate since 1953. To gain the recommended goal of a 4.5% rate of growth, the Committee Democrats urged an end to the Republican hard money, high interest rate policy and called for tax reforms with increased Federal spending, especially for aid to education.

Walter Lippmann criticized the President's report for its dangerous philosophy of "reducing the share of the national income which is spent by the government" and making maximum production of consumer goods our economic goal. This leads, Lippmann wrote, "to loving our liberty to enjoy consumer goods so much that we cannot afford to educate our children." Harvard Professor and Democratic Party economic adviser Kenneth Galbraith developed this criticism in his book **The Affluent Society** when he argued that "we must find a way to remedy the poverty which afflicts us in public services and which is in such increasingly bizarre contrast with our affluence in private goods."

Perhaps the Republicans are entitled to be smug about the November election. But behind this short term complacency, a specter is haunting all economic reporters, including the President. His report doesn't anywhere mention the words "capitalism" or "socialism," but the socialist economies with their nearly 10% steady annual growth in gross national product and their planned priority programs for education, research, health, social security, urban and resource development are beginning sharply to challenge the U.S. economy with its bare 3% growth rate and its economic anarchy of starved schools and fancy big-fin Cadillacs.

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SMITH ACT PRISONER MOVED TO NEW YORK HOSPITAL

Serious illness sparks demand for Winston parole

HENRY WINSTON, one of three Smith Act defendants remaining in Federal custody, was rushed from the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Mo., on Jan. 30 for emergency medical treatment by private physicians at the Montefiore Hospital in New York.

Despite the requests of his family, attorney and friends for unconditional medical parole, Winston was kept in the custody of Federal Bureau of Prison officials as he awaited an operation for a possible brain tumor. He had hardly been settled in a room at Montefiore Hospital when guards from the West Street Federal jail in New York arrived to place him under 24-hour surveillance. Only a protest from Winston's lawyer, John J. Abt, forced the removal of one of the guards from the room of the sick man who has lost the sight of one eye, suffered failing vision in the other, and is unable to walk. The guard took up his station at the nurses' desk in the hospital corridor.

MEDICAL HISTORY: Winston's ailment began as early as last April when he complained to visitors at the Federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind., that he suffered from recurrent dizzy spells. The prison medical officers at that time diagnosed his condition as high blood pressure. For months, no more serious condition was suspected.

But the dizziness continued and by last fall Winston suffered from severe headaches and a periodic failure of vision. He also began to notice some impairment of his motor functions. Nevertheless, he maintained the customary prison routine as best he could. Whenever he appeared on the prison sick line he was given Dramamine pills for "dizziness."

Finally, at the insistence of his family and attorney, Winston was placed in the prison hospital in mid-January. When facilities for diagnosis proved inadequate he was removed to the Springfield, Mo., medical facility on Jan. 21.

THE CASE FOR PAROLE: Meanwhile, the U.S. Parole Board in Washington had under consideration Winston's appeal for a reconsideration of his parole application. On Jan. 27 the Board met and heard an appeal for parole from a citizens committee headed by Rev. Edler Hawkins, pastor of St. Augustine Presbyterian Church in the Bronx and moderator of the New York Presbytery. Presenting the legal arguments for the group was Conrad Lynn, a prominent civil rights attorney.

The group pointed out that Winston—former organizational secretary of the Communist Party and one of the first group of Smith Act defendants—had served more than the minimum time prescribed under his five-year sentence; that since his trial the Supreme Court had invalidated the grounds under which he had been convicted; that the additional three-year sentence imposed on him for failure to surrender for imprisonment in 1951 was harsh and vindictive, especially in light of his later voluntary surrender; that his continued imprisonment worked a cruel hardship on his wife and two young children; and that the very practice of jailing political dissenters was repugnant to the nation's democratic professions.

PROTESTS URGED: The Board took the plea under advisement and deferred a decision. With the matter still pending there, U.S. Prisons Director James V. Bennett moved to place Winston under the private medical care which his family requested, but maintained him in Federal custody on condition that upon recovery he would be returned to prison.

Civil liberties spokesmen urged a widespread public demand for immediate unconditional parole for Winston, who underwent a serious operation on Feb. 2 and faces a long and difficult period of convalescence. Parole may be granted by the U.S. Board of Parole, George J. Reed, chairman, H.O.L.C. Building, 101 Indiana Avenue, Washington, D.C.

JOURNALIST OR SECRET AGENT?

Lowell Thomas Jr.'s fanciful tale of Tibet

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING

IN HIS NEW BOOK, **Silent War in Tibet,** Lowell Thomas Jr. claims that Tibet is a separate nation, suffering "centuries of Chinese intervention" but attaining "complete independence" in 1913, only to be overwhelmed again by the Communist Chinese in 1951 because the free world gave them no support.

The Tibetans "resisted with ferocity" but were beaten and have since been engaged in "silent war" against the "vastly superior Red Army," trying to maintain their religion, their customs and their ethnic existence, while China carries on a "systematic destruction of the Tibetan people, and replaces them in their own land with millions of forced Chinese settlers."

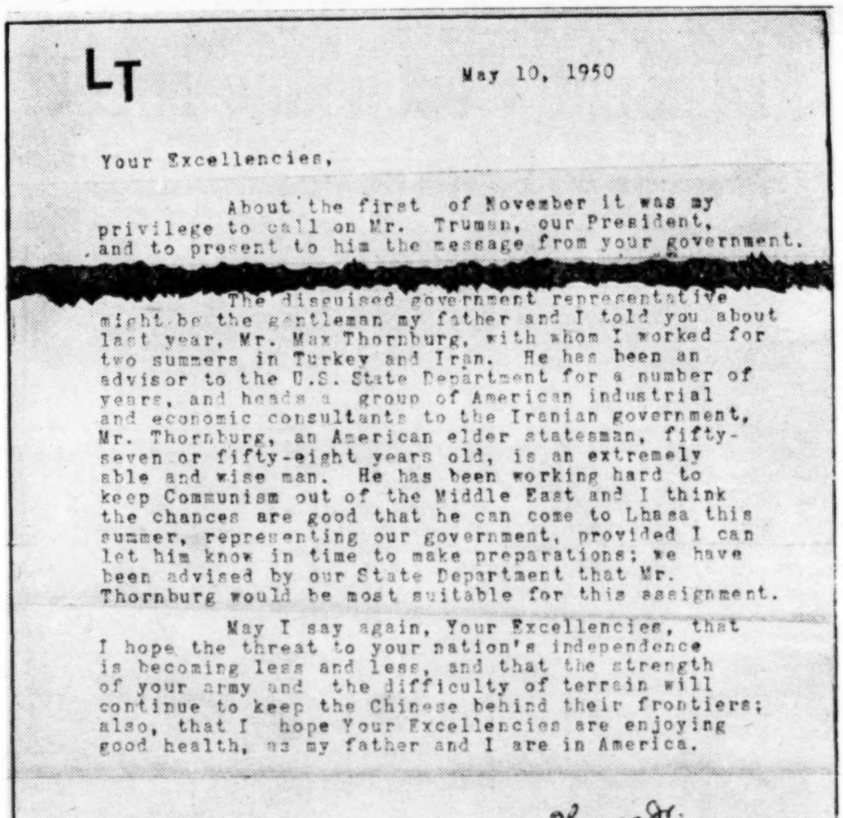
Lowell Thomas Jr. went to Tibet with his father in 1949, and did a world promotion job for Tibetan independence—which any journalist has a right to do. But it is deceiving the readers when a writer claims to be only a journalist, as he did, while he carries messages between governments and seeks arms and military advisers to set up one more of those so-called "independent states" under Washington's control, to "contain Communist China."

LETTER IS PROOF: That was his mission and it has been exposed by a letter he wrote to the Lhasa government May 10, 1950, which was found in the files last spring, and is now on exhibition in Peking. The exhibition shows an enlarged Chinese translation of parts of the letter, but I handled the original letter in full.

On seven pages of heavy yellow-cream stationery, water-marked Strathmore Bond Rag Content USA and monogrammed with a neat green LT in the upper left-hand corner, and the address of Lowell Thomas Jr. at Hammersley Hill, Pauling, N.Y., Mr. Thomas conveys the details of his father's health, his greetings to the Dalai Lama and a report of his talk with President Truman ("to whom I delivered your message") and with Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He asked Truman for arms and military advisers, but Truman was noncommittal, expressing only his "hope to organize the moral forces of the world against the immoral," and recognizing the Dalai Lama as a "moral force."

Secy. Acheson went further and suggested that Lowell Thomas Jr. make another trip to Tibet and take with him a "disguised government representative" for closer contacts—a Mr. Max Thornburg whom Thomas recommends to the Tibetans as a man with whom Thomas himself "worked two summers in Turkey and Iran," and who is "well-qualified for the assignment" of top-level undercover anti-Communist activity. This makes clear that for at least three years Thomas himself engaged in secret anti-Communist jobs for the U.S. government, a background to be considered in estimating his views on Tibet.

ODD VIEW: Mr. Thomas' view of Tibet as an essentially independent nation since 1913 seems an unusual distortion of the thousand years in which Hans, Tibetans, Mongols, Manchus, Moslems and scores of other nations were welded into a unified "Chinese Empire," with various national dynasties succeeding each other in rule. All Chinese, and most Tibetans, consider that Tibet has been part of China for 700 years. A Tibetan noble whose family has been high in government for a thousand years—they were "kings" before the "political unification"—told me: "It was Kublai Khan who took Tibet into China, in 1275 A.D."



LT

May 10, 1950

Your Excellencies,

About the first of November it was my privilege to call on Mr. Truman, our President, and to present to him the message from your government.

The disguised government representative might be the gentleman my father and I told you about last year, Mr. Max Thornburg, with whom I worked for two summers in Turkey and Iran. He has been an advisor to the U.S. State Department for a number of years, and heads a group of American industrial and economic consultants to the Iranian government. Mr. Thornburg, an American elder statesman, fifty-seven or fifty-eight years old, is an extremely able and wise man. He has been working hard to keep Communism out of the Middle East and I think the chances are good that he can come to Lhasa this summer, representing our government, provided I can let him know in time to make preparations; we have been advised by our State Department that Mr. Thornburg would be most suitable for this assignment.

May I say again, Your Excellencies, that I hope the threat to your nation's independence is becoming less and less, and that the strength of your army and the difficulty of terrain will continue to keep the Chinese behind their frontiers; also, that I hope Your Excellencies are enjoying good health, as my father and I are in America.

Lowell Thomas Jr.

THE THOMAS LETTER FOUND IN THE DALAI LAMA'S FILES
He proposes a visit by a "disguised government representative"

Nobody denies that movements of separatism occurred in these seven centuries, the last being in 1911 when the Empire split into warlord provinces. But "independence" never became unanimous in Tibet, and I personally have seen in an exhibit in Peking the letter sent by the **Kasha,** Tibet's local government, in 1942, appointing "deputies to the All-China National Congress" under Chiang Kai-shek, and also photographs of the Tibetan deputies to the Congress in 1946. Whatever Tibetans may have thought in 1911, they were joining up again by the 1940's. In 1951, when they learned the "nationality policy" of the present Chinese government, they accepted unanimously—the Dalai Lama by wire in the name of "all the monks and the laity"—their inclusion "within the borders of China," with the People's Liberation Army as their "national army of defense."

In all the seven centuries, no foreign power ever recognized Tibet as an independent nation, or sent an ambassador to Lhasa; and even when Britain's army marched to Lhasa and forced a treaty in the Potala Palace, which aimed at driving a wedge between Lhasa and Peking, the 750,000 pounds indemnity was billed to Peking and paid by the Chinese court.

WHICH TIBET? So much for "independence." When Mr. Thomas next charges that China "is sending millions of forced Chinese settlers" to "replace Tibetans in their own land," I think he knows that this is the kind of half-truth that is worse than a bare lie. Not a single Chinese settler has been allowed in the past ten years in Tibet proper.

But besides the "Tibet" you find on your map, there is a "greater Tibet" which Mr. Thomas, and recently the Dalai Lama, claim. This is all the territory Tibetan tribes once roamed over, and where many Tibetans live today, mixed in with Hans, Mongols, and other nationalities. Tibet proper, which is left to Tibetans, is 469,194 square miles of land with 1,200,000 people, a big enough place for anyone. But some 1,600,000 Tibetans also live in Yunnan, Szechuan, Kansu and Chinghai, with millions of other people, and "Greater Tibet" might include one-fifth of all China, including some of the best oil lands.

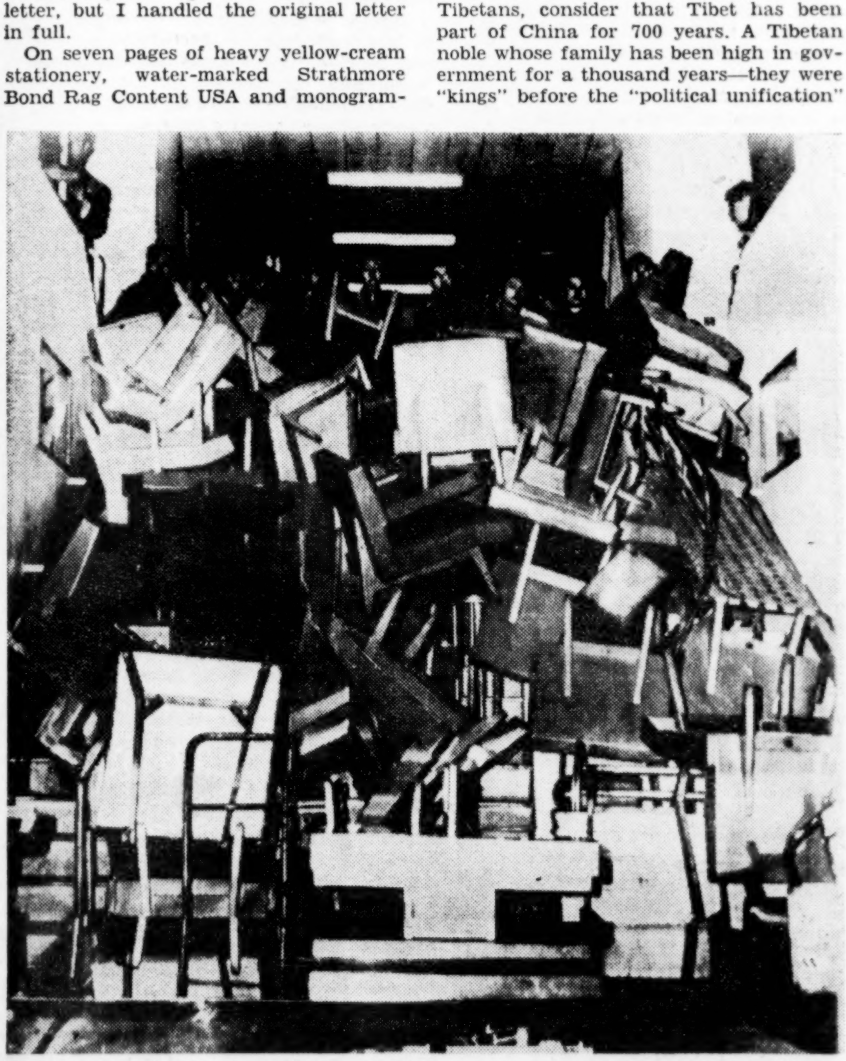
The picture Mr. Thomas gives of the 1950-51 period, when "the Reds struck with enormous strength in October, 1951, against ferocious Tibetan resistance," hardly fits the facts. The only fight was the battle of Chamdo, October, 1950, outside Tibet proper in the province then known as Sikang. Part of the Tibetans came over and joined the Reds and the general staff was captured, and, on learning the terms and plans of the People's Liberation Army, they advised the Dalai Lama to make a deal. Then the Reds sat down for eight months and waited in Chamdo for the negotiations, which were signed in May, 1951. By October, 1951, the Chinese Army, which had not entered Tibet until they were invited, were being banqueted in Lhasa and conducted to their posts on the "national border" towards India and Nepal by Tibetan military appointees. The Dalai Lama was wiring Mao Tse-tung of the "unanimous support."

"AN UTTER LIE": The deadliest charge by Mr. Thomas is that China is trying to root out the Tibetan people, and that the Tibetans wage "silent war" against obliteration. This is an utter lie. The Tibetans have really been dying out, along with the Mongols, for the last seven centuries, from serfdom and monasticism, from childbirth in stables without care, and venereal disease which follows the monasteries like a plague.

But as of the year 1959, this long death of the Tibetan people is over, for on July 17, 1959, serfdom was legally abolished and the Tibetan people became masters in their land. For 700 years they were really silent; neither Lowell Thomas nor any visitor could have openly interviewed the serfs. Now they are not silent; they are singing, and talking and holding meetings and forming peasant associations, and dividing the land.

Everyone who enters their country, and all of the Hans who work with them, are surprised at the burst of dramatic and poetic talent, in the songs and dramas the Tibetan people now write. I saw many such plays and gathered some of the songs. One of them is:

Dalai Lama's sun shone only on the lords;
Chairman Mao is a sun, shining on the people.
Now the sun of the lords sets,
And our sun rises."



TOKYO STUDENTS PEER OVER A BARRICADE THAT DIDN'T WORK
The piled desks, benches and chairs in a corridor of Tokyo's International Airport were intended to block Premier Kishi's departure for the U.S. to sign the new U.S.-Japanese Security Pact—but Kishi left by another route. Unrest over the pact—signed in Washington on Jan. 18—continues in Japan. Last week Japan's Asian neighbors—the U.S.S.R., China, North Korea and North Vietnam—protested the treaty as a danger to world peace.

BREAKING DOWN JIMCROW

New York rail clerks elect Negro president

WHEN Thomas Watkins was installed as president of the predominantly-white Lodge 173 of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Railway Clerks on Jan. 21, he became the first Negro to hold that position in an integrated lodge of the union. His election was a step forward in the New York area lodge's fight against the brotherhood's anti-Negro policies, but the battle is far from won.

Until 1947 the brotherhood's constitution contained a "white only" clause. For a time thereafter, Negroes were permitted to join auxiliary lodges. When the brotherhood won the union shop in 1951, they were given a choice of setting up all-Negro lodges or joining white ones. Now, of some 13,000 lodges, 1,000 are integrated and 150 are all-Negro.

Lodge 173 became integrated in 1955. Two years later it elected William R. Scott, a Negro, secretary of the Protective Committee, the body charged with policing the contract. In December, 1958, Scott ran for chairman of the committee, a four-year post, roughly equivalent to business agent. He was elected by a vote of 328 to 173. The slate he headed, including six Negroes and nine whites, won by similar margins over an all-white ticket.

ELECTION CHALLENGED: The defeated candidate, Anthony J. Riccio, appealed to Brotherhood president George M. Harrison to disallow the election on the ground that Scott did not meet the eligibility requirements of the constitution. Without a hearing, Harrison invalidated Scott's election and that of three others because they were not employed "continuously" for more than a year.

Scott and the others appealed Harrison's ruling to the union's highest council and to the convention. But each time Harrison was upheld. Scott is now suing for reinstatement in the New York State Supreme Court; a hearing is expected in April. Meanwhile Riccio has remained in office.

Under the union's agreement with the New York Central Railroad, workers "shape-up" for jobs on a seniority basis. There are two kinds of positions: "bulletin" or regular jobs and "extra" men who work only occasionally. A "bulletined" worker may be bumped to the "extra" category by a man with higher seniority. A worker's status may vary depending on the number of jobs open and his relative seniority.

THE ANSWER: Scott has worked for the railroad for more than three years. He has often been a "bulletined" worker, but has frequently been bumped onto the "extra" list. To the railroad, for purposes of vacation, sickness and other fringe benefits, he is considered a regular employe.

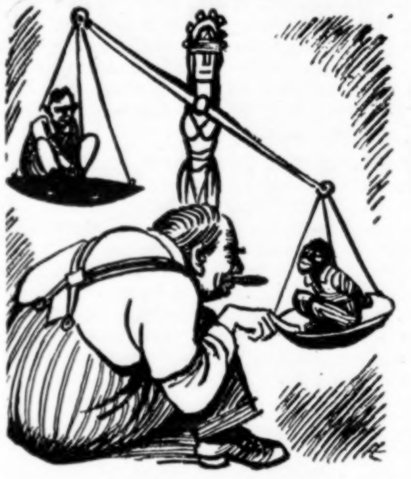
In his appeal, Scott pointed out that Harrison's interpretation of the constitution had never been used against any other officer although many are also "extra" workers. The former chairman of the union's New York Central Division was an "extra" man, as are officers in two of the division's lodges. About 30% of Scott's lodge are "extra" men. Scott also asked why no objection was raised when he served as secretary of the committee.

To many, Scott's color held the answer. Scott's court appeal charged that brotherhood vice president Harold J. Chapman had assured other "extra" men who hold office and are white that Harrison's ruling would not be invoked against them.

NO REPLY: J. Carlton Yeldell, labor relations secretary of the Natl. Urban League, after investigation, concluded that the action against Scott was discriminatory. He sent a report of his findings to Harrison last May with a request for a reply, but none ever came.

Yeldell's report served as the basis for an amicus brief the NAACP filed in Scott's behalf. Among other things, it said that brotherhood organizer Edward Lanza "sided with Riccio on racial grounds. We have information which indicates that Lanza did not want Negroes in integrated lodges to hold any key posts within the lodge."

The report also said that "information in our possession" indicates that brotherhood representative James W. Hartley "had conversations . . . which expressed his dislike and contempt of Negroes. He is reported to have said, among other things: 'You don't have to worry about them damn niggers or take any crap off them because we white members are in the majority in our brotherhood'."



Lodge 173 has 800-1,000 members; two-thirds are white. Negroes work as freight handlers and "breakadors" (operating the lorries that carry freight from the docks to the terminal). Clerks, with three or four exceptions, are white.

LESSON LEARNED: Traditionally the lodge was dominated by the clerks. The chairman of the Protective Committee was always a clerk until 1957. There was a great deal of turnover in the post because many were promoted into management positions shortly after taking office. There was a standing joke among lodge members that the best way to become a foreman is to get elected to union office.

Shortly after Scott came into the lodge he organized a successful campaign to enlarge the Protective Committee to three members with the provision that all three must be present when grievances are argued with the management. As he puts it: "The members were getting suspicious of all those promotions."

Following the enlargement of the committee and Scott's election as secretary, grievances were handled with dispatch and to the members' satisfaction. Scott won the support and respect of the overwhelming majority of the members. At meetings there are rarely more than five or six votes in opposition to his resolutions.

Watkins' election by a two-to-one vote represents a victory for Scott's efforts to vitalize the lodge. Lodge 173 seems to have learned brotherhood, but has Harrison?

FOR DISARMAMENT

Representatives of 15 nations at 'Foothills' talk

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN THE GRAND committee-room of the House of Commons Feb. 2-5, the world disarmament movement took on a new dimension with the convening of a "Foothills Conference" on a major scale. Formally known as the East-West Unofficial Round Table Meeting, the conference brought together members of parliaments and other non-governmental personalities from at least 15 countries. It stemmed out of two smaller "foothill" get-togethers held last year, the first of which was convened by Sweden's veteran Socialist Sen. Branting.

Sparking the conference was a committee of British Labor MP's including former minister and Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker, "shadow" Minister of Labor Fred Lee, 1958 Labor Party chairman Tom Driberg, Lord Faringdon and Konni Zilliacus.

The agenda: (1) Technical problems of disarmament, introduced by Noel-Baker; (2) international action to cushion the economic consequences, introduced by chairman Arzumanian of the Soviet Institute of World Economy and Intl. Relations; (3) political problems of disengagement (including the German question) introduced by Finn Moe, chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission.

SOLUTIONS SOUGHT: Introductory papers were circulated in advance to delegates to ensure down-to-earth discussion. The conference sought on the various levels practical solutions to the basic problem before the world's governments: how to move with minimal risk to each nation's interests from the outdated balance-of-power concept to the UN Charter concept which assumes a general will to peace.

A week before the conference the organizers were heartened by prospects of a strong U.S. delegation, including Rep. Charles O. Porter, **Nation** publisher George G. Kirstein, Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee, and Cornell nuclear physics Prof. Jay Orear, chairman of the Fedn. of American Scientists' disarmament committee. Others expected were:

Canada: Rt. Hon. Milton F. Gregg VC CBE, former minister in the St. Laurent cabinet.

Italy: Deputy chairman Lombardi and secy. Vittorelli of the Socialist Party's Intl. Relations Committee.

France: Sen. Leo Hamond (Gaullist), and Anxionnaz (Méndes-France spokesman), Pierre Cot and Emanuel d'Astier (Progressive), editor and Paris Councilor Claude Bourdet (United Autonomous Socialists).

West Germany: Evangelical Pastor Mochalski of Darmstadt.

Sweden: Sen. Branting, Agrarian Party, Sen. Bengtsson.

U.S.S.R.R.: Ukrainian playwright Alexander Korneichuk, novelist-journalist Ilya Ehrenburg.

Delegations from Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria.

Korneichuk and Ehrenburg will attend as members of the Supreme Soviet, which twice recently appealed to the world's parliaments to follow its disarmament moves. They are expected to stress that these moves are not made in isolation but in the context of a call for total world-wide disarmament.

Bonn Social Democrats decided to boycott the conference and banned all contact with Communists because of the "irreconcilable opposition between socialism and communism."

Fifty foreign delegates were present at the opening session.

Go Guardian for the tour of your life

A PARTY with Cedric Belfrage, Konni Zilliacus and (if he's in town) Paul Robeson in London, dinner with progressive VIP's, a fashion show and a visit to the Renault factory in Paris, tours of factory clubs, co-op farms and the newest and oldest synagogues in Czechoslovakia, a possible official reception in Krakow, Poland—these are just a few of the events in store for the lucky travelers departing from New York on May 15 on the GUARDIAN's first European Tour.

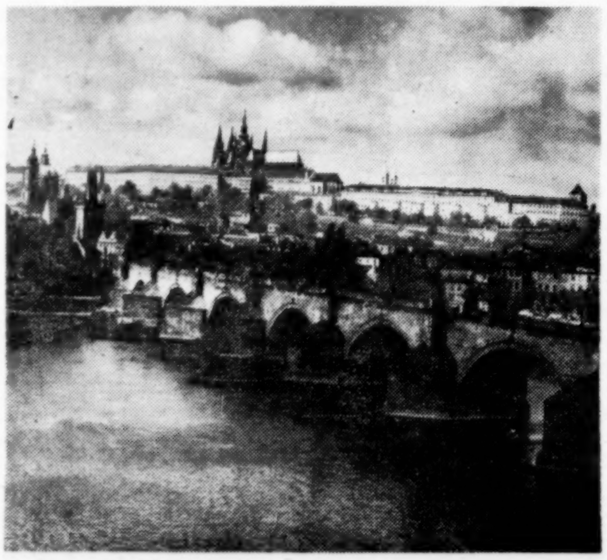
Letters received this week from Editor-in-Exile Belfrage and correspondents Anne Bauer in Paris and George Wheeler in Prague, tell of plans to make the tourists' stay in their respective capitals an exciting one. Writes Wheeler: "Count on a visit to a nursery school, dinner at a wonderful restaurant overlooking the Moldau, and Laterna Magica, which combines theater, movies, ballet and other arts in a unique presentation." And Miss Bauer offers—in addition—her husband Pierre, "the most knowledgeable person I know," as a Parisian guide!

FRIENDS IN SWEDEN, the Soviet Union and Poland are making arrangements for concert tickets, parties and special tours for the group, which will spend four days in Stockholm, two in Helsinki and nearly four full weeks touring nine major cities in the first land of socialism before returning via Krakow, Prague and Paris. Full details on all special plans for the traveling VIP's will be ready soon.

The 45-day tour by land, air and sea (boat trips from Stockholm to Helsinki, and from Sukhumi along the Black Sea coast to Yalta and Odessa) is planned to take advantage of the late spring months, finest season in Europe.

TOUR CONDUCTOR will be Peggy Middleton, popular London County Councilor, whose contacts abroad will afford intimate glimpses of the countries visited.

The $1,795 "package price" covers all transportation, meals and lodging, sightseeing trips, guides, baggage transfers and normal tips. Reservations are coming in steadily, and those who want to take advantage of this trip of a lifetime would do well to reserve now. Write Guardian Tour, 197 East 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.



One of the sights you'll see in Prague

Civil rights plan

(Continued from Page 1)

DEADLINE SET: The proposal came as a climax to a long record of Administration indifference on the civil rights issue and on the eve of probable heated debates in the Senate and House. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Texas), an unannounced candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, has set Feb. 15 as the deadline for consideration of civil rights bills now being discussed by a subcommittee on Rules and Administration. This tactic was found necessary to overcome the obstruction of Sen. James O. Eastland's Judiciary Committee which has bottled up civil rights measures since the opening days of the Congress in January, 1959.

REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

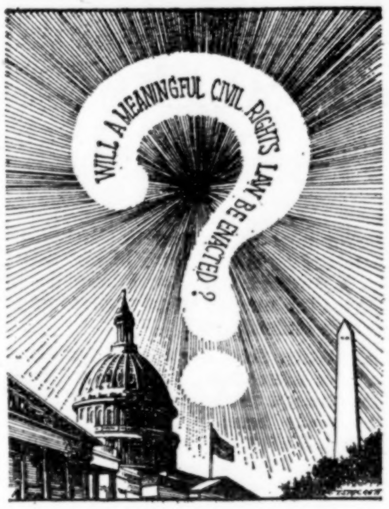
A volunteer panel of distinguished citizens heard complaints of Southern Negroes who had been denied the right to register for voting in a civil rights hearing conducted by several organizations in Washington on Jan. 31. A full report will appear in next week's GUARDIAN.

In the House the progress of civil rights bills has been equally slow. Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.), heading a Southern Democrat-Northern Republican coalition in the Rules Committee, has blocked the way to floor debate on HR 8601, a mild Administration proposal. Efforts to take the bill out of the hands of the Committee through a discharge petition, requiring the signatures of 219 Congressmen, have thus far foundered on obvious Republican disfavor. Of 190 signatures on the petition, only 30-odd Republicans were recorded as of Jan. 29.

FOLLOWING IKE: It was clear the Republicans were following the line of the President and the Administration. In his State of the Union message President Eisenhower made only a passing and unenthusiastic reference to civil rights. When, a few days later, he was asked about another plan protecting voting rights—the Civil Rights Commission's proposal for temporary Federal registrars—he cast doubt on the constitutionality of the plan.

His statement drew the fire of the most conservative member of the Commission, Robert G. Storey, former dean of the Southern Methodist University Law School. Storey presented to the civil rights subcommittee of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee a long history supporting the constitutionality of the proposal for registrars appointed by the Administration.

In light of this record, the immediate and long-term impact of the Rogers proposal was the subject of widespread debate. The New York **Times** (Jan. 28) felt that "in proposing a major strengthening of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, President Eisenhower's Administration has taken the curse off the almost casual approach to this subject he showed in his State of the Union message early this month."


WILL A MEANINGFUL CIVIL RIGHTS LAW BE ENACTED ?

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American

The $64,000 political question

The Washington **Post**, however, felt that "one of the effects of his proposal for Federal court referees instead of Federal registrars to prevent racial discrimination in voting is to throw off balance many supporters of civil rights legislation."

PROS AND CONS: The imbalance was caused by legal as well as political considerations. Rogers urged adoption of his plan on the ground that it embraces state as well as Federal elections and that, by restricting jurisdiction of voting to officers of the courts, the plan would be more likely to survive legal challenges than the several bills providing for Federal registrars.

But Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) contended "it was more appropriate to keep the administration of voting in Congress and the executive than to put it in the courts." He felt that "if the courts move no more quickly on voting than they have on school integration, the Rogers system would take too long."

CONFUSED SITUATION: The political implications of the Rogers proposals were clear. The initiative would be used to save the Republicans from the embarrassment they have suffered for their inaction to date. An effort would also be made to turn the proposal to the advantage of Vice President Nixon. Rogers, a close friend and political confidant of the Vice President, announced that Nixon had seen the plan and approved it.

Within the Congress itself, however, the situation was more confused than ever. The prospects were that Administration leaders would push for priority for the Rogers proposal in both Houses. If this should mean piloting a bill through committees and onto the floor for eventual debate and vote, it could delay Congressional action until the last days of the short session. The alternative—considering the plan as an amendment to legislation which has already gone through the Committee hearings procedure—will depend on which side wins in a struggle over rules in both houses.

Tranquilizer profits

(Continued from Page 1)

ments were also given at the committee's December hearings by steroid hormone manufacturers.

The defense of high research costs didn't hold up for the committee's first witness, Walter A. Munns, president of Smith, Kline & French. The company sells about $50,000,000 a year of chlorpromazine under the brand names Thorazine and Compazine. But the drug was developed by a French company. In Paris the drug wholesales at 51 cents for 50 tablets; Sydney, Australia, 94 cents; Dusseldorf, Germany, 97 cents; London, 77 cents. But in the United States Smith, Kline & French sells it to druggists for $3.03.

REAL GROWTH: For the first three quarters of 1959, the company showed a net profit of 19.5% of sales against 4.9% for all industry. Kefauver told Munns: "This is a burden on taxpayers, sick people, the government. You have a monopoly position. Don't you think you might have a little compassion?"

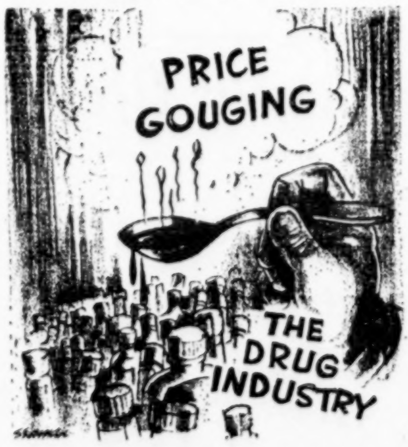
Munns replied that his company's prices were "a great bargain and very reasonable." Without tranquilizers, he said, mental hospitals would have to care for an additional 50,000 patients. Thus, the drug companies are saving the nation $75,000,000 a year.

The committee staff showed that if a person bought 225 shares of Smith, Kline & French stock for $9,900 on Dec. 31, 1948, he would have received by the end of 1959 $20,070 in dividends and his stock would be worth $244,013. Munns commented: "Doesn't this typify a real growth company?"

"I ACCUSE": Mike Gorman, executive director of the Natl. Committee Against Mental Illness, told the committee: "I accuse the pharmaceutical industry of America of contributing to the return of thousands of mental patients to mental hospitals because of the high price of tranquilizing drugs."

He said the companies were not really interested in basic research because they turned down government grants which require waiving exclusive patent rights. Much of the industry's research, he said, is in determining whether "the American housewife prefers a blue pill to a green pill."

Most roughed up at the hearings were Carter and American Home Products, exclusive manufacturers of meprobamate. Carter developed the drug and holds a patent on it which it licensed only to AHP. Carter markets the drug under the brand name Miltown; AHP sells it as Equanil. Although Equanil costs its manufacturer twice as much as Miltown costs Carter, both are sold to the druggist at the same price. On government orders the two companies generally make bids that are identical "to a thousandth of a cent."



Seaman, Seafarers Log, New York

Take as directed.

SUIT FILED: While the hearings were in progress, the Justice Dept. filed an antitrust suit based on its own study against the two companies. The suit charged that the companies conspired to exclude other manufacturers from producing meprobamate and to fix prices. The government asked the court for an order to require Carter to make its patent available without charge to anyone desiring to use it, or to set up a licensing system involving reasonable royalties.

Rep. John A. Blatnik (D-Minn.) testified that a drug inquiry by a House subcommittee he headed two years ago was "thwarted at every turn" by the AMA. Nevertheless, he said, his committee learned that "false and misleading advertising of tranquilizing drugs was prevalent." He said many were introduced "with a minimum of clinical testing." He added: "Certain medical groups . . . exhibited an appalling lack of knowledge and have attempted to whitewash, cover up and minimize the seriousness of the problem."

AMA officials denied Blatnik's charge and said they had clarified advertising standards for their publications. In 1958 AMA publications received $6,000,000 in advertising from drug companies.

THE ANSWERS: At the hearings two prominent psychiatrists testified that Miltown, Equanil and other "mild" tranquilizers could be habit-forming. Dr. Fritz Freyhan said that after extended, heavy use, "when Miltown has been withdrawn convulsions have been observed."

When Kefauver asked Carter's medical chief, Dr. Frank Berger, why Miltown advertisements did not carry warnings of possible addiction, he answered: "You don't put a warning on a beer bottle [although] beer and whiskey can be addictive."

The hearings closed with the questioning of T. H. Davies Haines, president of the American division of CIBA, a Swiss company. He said his company had spent millions to develop resperine from an Asian plant and therefore had to charge druggists $39.50 for 1,000 tablets. A small company, Panray, sells the same product for $2.65. Haines said the lower price was possible because the smaller company does not spend money on research and advertising.

The hearings will reopen later this month and will deal with antibiotics and diabetes medicines. If Kefauver plans to introduce special legislation, the drug companies don't give it much chance of passing. Drug officials point to revelations of price-fixing in the steel and auto industries made by Kefauver's committee two years ago which died with the committee's report.

NO CHANGE SEEN: The **Wall Street Journal** reported (Jan. 27): "There is no apparent evidence that the drug companies are considering any significant changes in their admittedly expensive promotion practices."

The same paper reported after the December hearings: "Drug producers insist the inquiries will bring little, if any, change in present research and marketing activities. . . . Drug executives doubt that Sen. Kefauver . . . can develop a case strong enough to get legislation or court action."

Reports of drug profits for 1959 indicate record levels. It will be a while before fourth quarter figures are in, but American Home Products, for example, estimates that sales and profits will be 10%-12% higher in 1959 than for the previous year. This may cheer the companies' directors, but it is not likely to tranquilize the anxieties of people who cannot afford to buy the drugs.

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BOOKS

American Utopians

ESCAPE TO UTOPIA is the seventh volume* in Hastings House's American Procession Series on important aspects of our history that tend to be left out of the formal studies of the political and economic development of the U.S. The series includes, to date, works on our early naturalists, Yankee inventors, the buffalo hunters, the first western land rush and other important by-ways of American history.

The latest addition is the story of a uniquely American phenomenon: in little more than 50 years some 100,000 persons belonged to one or another of 130 "communes." Its author, Everett Webber, is a professor in a Louisiana college and has written two novels set in Louisiana and historical pieces for a number of popular magazines.

Prof. Webber has collected much first-hand material for his lively account of a score of communal groups ranging from the Shakers through Robert Owen's New Harmony, Etienne Cabet's Icaria, George Ripley's Brook Farm, the Phalanxes to the Oneida Community of John Humphrey Noyes. Many lesser communities are also depicted here. They were led by schemers, fools, crackpots, or all three combined, such as James Jesse Strang, who had himself crowned King James I of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons); William Miller, who set 1843 as the year for the end of the world and gave rise to the various Adventist sects; "Father" George Rapp, whose Rappite followers abstained from both sex and tobacco; or Thomas Harris, founder of the Brotherhood of the New Life and a self-announced deity.

ONE LIMITATION of the volume is that no genuine distinction is made between two different kinds of colonies or communes. Some were seriously dedicated to freedom from exploitation through economic forms and relations radically different from those of the world outside. They were revolts against the failure of the American and French Revolutions to bring liberty, equality and the opportunity to pursue happiness and equally against the failure of the industrial revolution to bring increased leisure and more of life's goods to all people.

Others rested on nothing better than individual idiosyncracies or religious "revelations" at best, and on scheming scoundrels at worst. In Webber's treatment these experiments in communal living are all presented as equally utopian and their leaders appear to be cut from the same cloth.

Insufficient distinction appears between such pioneer and creative thinkers, no matter how unrealistic and illogical they could be at times in their revolts against Puritanism, rising capitalism, or both, as Margaret Fuller, Frances Wright, Etienne Cabet or Robert Owen, and the religious fakirs and fakers who had revelations to guide them toward celibacy, free love or the end of the world.

THE AUTHOR can well justify himself on the ground that the various kinds of utopias often got pretty much mixed together as did their respective theories. He correctly shows that "religious or secular, the prophets had the basic idea of providing for the pooling of labor and goods and of living from a common supply." He does see their origin in the preceding centuries of European history and gives a brief account of some of Europe's conflicts, from the Protestant Reformation, Cromwellian Revolution, etc., to the industrial revolution, and from Thomas More's **Utopia,** with its unforgettable indictment of early British capitalist accumulation, to the political philosophy of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, as providing the basic impulses for American communalism.

Yet Prof. Webber's book singularly lacks adequate dimension. That so many of the people in his book, whether leaders or the nameless ones, had impractical schemes that could never solve the very social problems they were designed to meet, no one can doubt. At the same time it must be said that the author has little feeling for the passion these people had for building "Jerusalems" in America's "green and pleasant land." The experiments in communalism all failed, it seems, not through the social and economic forces of capitalism that doomed them from the start, but because of their leaders' failure to undersand "human nature." He has not learned a lesson from the anthropolgists or the great socialist achievements of our time.

CYNICISM pervades much of the book. It seems to be due to the absence of any genuine social-economic theory or perspective that the writer can substitute for the utopian farms and villages of the nineteenth century. Instead, there is a Menckenian smart-aleckness and contempt for the masses.

The volume suffers, too, from the absence of any setting of these utopian adventures against the economic and political background in the U.S. Jacksonianism and the early labor movement are strangely missing, the anti-slave struggle barely enters, and except for a reference to the panic of 1837 there is nothing on the fluctuations of the economy and only the most passing references to the actual conditions of factory operatives and small farmers. There is no suggestion, either, that Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen, to whom considerable space is given, played a role in the early labor movement and its struggle for political action. There were giants in the land in those days and, however impractical their dreams were, it little behooves today's Americans to make light of them. Some few, at least, of Webber's "cranks" appear in quite a different light in Volume I of Philip Foner's **History of the Labor Movement in the United States.**

To one who accepts capitalism at its face value, these early movements are at most amusing and entertaining aberrations—just so many weird mistakes; and Webber concludes that "The song is surely done." Indeed, such "experiments" are no longer taking place in little spots in New York State, Ohio, Indiana or Texas—but rather among whole great nations on a global scale.

—**Howard Selsam**

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* *ESCAPE TO UTOPIA: The Communal Movement in America, by Everett Webber. In the American Procession Series, Hastings House, New York.* **444** *pp. $5.50.*

500 march in bomb protest in San Francisco

MORE THAN 500 people marched through downtown San Francisco Jan. 16 in protest against nuclear weapons testing. The parade was under the auspices of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

Marchers gathered at noon in the courtyard of Grace Cathedral on Nob Hill where Rev. Harry B Scholefield of the First Unitarian Church told them: "We walk not simply because we would protest the excessive and unimaginative reliance of our government and other governments upon the bomb . . . we walk because we believe there is a better way and we would seek to be part of it."

As a carload of police watched the procession, it stopped at the French consulate where a protest was filed against the forthcoming Sahara tests. The walk ended with a meeting in Union Square.

Included in the march was a group of shoeless "beatniks." They carried signs: More Bardot, Less Bombs and More Wine Testing, Less Bomb Testing.

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—Peter Charlton, Chairman,
Sane Nuclear Policy Committee of California

A VOICE: "On a flight to the Southwest, I started reading ON THE BRINK with such interest that I did not put it down until reading every page, after which I called it to the attention of other passengers on the long flight. You are to be commended for producing it at this time."

—Daniel E. Taylor, General Secretary,
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ANOTHER VICTIM GOES TO JAIL

Dr. H. Chandler Davis surrenders to serve six months for contempt

DR. H. CHANDLER DAVIS, 33-year-old Providence, R. I., mathematician, the third First Amendment defendant to be imprisoned in the past three months, surrendered to the United States Marshal in Grand Rapids, Mich., Tuesday, Feb. 2, to serve a six-month prison term for contempt of Congress.

As he surrendered, Dr. Davis charged that the House Committee on Un-American Activities, some of whose questions he had refused to answer in 1954, had "established in the minds of too many people that there is such a thing as political heresy," a concept which he rejects.

"It is wrong to take away a man's freedom of speech," Dr. Davis also said, "not only because it hurts him, but because it hurts the country by frustrating the circulation of relevant opinions from which the sovereign people can make unforced judgments."

REVIEW DENIED: Dr. Davis appeared before the committee in Lansing, Mich., on May 10, 1954, while teaching mathematics at the University of Michigan. He told the committee it was conducting a "political inquisition" and refused to answer 26 questions about his own political beliefs and associations and those of others at Harvard University where he had received his Ph.D. and with his alleged authorship of a pamphlet attacking the House investigating group which had been published by two campus organizations at Michigan.

Last Dec. 7 the Supreme Court refused to review his conviction for contempt.

Dr. Davis was dismissed from the Michigan faculty, an action which was condemned by the faculty executive committee, student groups, the American Assn. of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union.

He taught at Columbia University and later spent a year as a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, N.J. He then became an editor of **Mathematical Reviews**, published in Providence by the American Mathematical Society, the learned society of the country's 6,500 research mathematicians, a job he will resume when released from prison.

ONE OF 36: In prison he hopes to continue his correspondence for **Mathematical Reviews** with mathematicians throughout the world in regard to research papers they have prepared. He will continue his studies of languages and his own mathematical research in the field of functional analysis—and to play chess by mail with his six-year-old son Aaron, the oldest of his three children.

Dr. Davis is one of a total of 36 Americans with similar First Amendment cases. Two, Lloyd Barenblatt and Dr. Willard Uphaus, are already in prison.

As he went to jail, Dr. Davis said: "We have to restore the responsibility of dissent. I think such an effort is sufficiently important to justify extreme measures. It was an extreme measure for me to risk jail. I won't enjoy it. But it will be a satisfaction to affirm by this act that I value free speech this highly."

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NEW YORK

Thurs., Feb. 4th at 8:30 p.m.
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DR. W. E. B. Du BOIS, speaking Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m., in celebration of Negro History Week, 110 W. 125 St. Cont. $1.50. Auspices: Market Place Gallery.

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But it is time for New Yorkers to throw away the flower pot and dust off the dial. There is a station in town that doesn't think radio belongs to Lux soap and believes that programs can be entertaining and adult at the same time. It is KBAI-FM, operating at 99.5 megacycles, owned by Pacifica Foundation, a non-profit educational institution.

Ten years ago Pacifica opened a listener-sponsored station, KPFA, in Berkeley, Calif., and later KPFK in Los Angeles. Both are thriving although they have no sponsors. They exist on $12 - a - year subscriptions from ilsteners. So does WBAI.

For his money the subscriber gets a bi-weekly folio listing programs in advance. He also gets a station that is not bound by the tabus and inanities of commercial broadcasting. A station which, according to Pacifica president Harold Winkler, is "free to express every shade of responsible opinion and free to explore familiar and new channels of artistic creativity."

WBAI HAS BEEN OPERATING under Pacifica management since Jan. 10 and has compiled a worthy record. There has been something for everyone. For children there is a 75-minute program every day at 4:30 which has offered folk songs and music such as Prokofieff's "Peter and the Wolf"; a BBC series, "How Things Began"; serialized readings of **Kidnaped** and **Alice in Wonderland.**

Classical music, including works by modern composers, receives a generous share of time. Jazz and folk music are also offered regularly, along with discussions and interviews. Occasionally special musical events, as the Furtwaengler Festival in Berlin, and music from the Vienna Youth Festival, are presented.

Discussions and lectures on art, music, photography, dance, theater and movies are regular features. There are also full-length dramatic presentations by top actors from the BBC.

The station is unique, however, in its coverage of world events. For comment it has sought out a spectrum of opinion ranging from Russell Kirk of the right-wing **National Review** to Chester Bowles, Norman Thomas, Albert Bigelow, James Warburg, Leo Huberman, Corliss Lamont and Herbert Aptheker. A review of the Soviet press and answers to questions about the U.S.S.R. by William Mandel is a regular feature.

OF A SPECIAL NATURE, the station presented a two-hour recording of the proceedings at the Communist Party convention, held in New York in December. There was also an illuminating discussion on Germany with John Peet, former Reuters correspondent now living in East Berlin.

On Feb. 1 (repeated on Feb. 3) Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois lectured on the significance of socialism, followed by a report on China by Shirley Graham Du Bois. On the same day there was also a report on "Radiation and the Unborn Child."

Subscriptions are tax-deductible and should be sent to WBAI, 30 E. 39th St., New York 16, N.Y. For a limited period the station will send sample program folios to anyone who writes for them. The station can be heard in a 75-mile radius of New York City which includes some areas in New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

COMMERCIAL RADIO AND TELEVISION have always been creatures of the advertiser. Consequently, they have become pillars of conformity. Programs on world events are presented occasionally as a sop to egghead critics who might make trouble in Congress. But where opinion is even mildly liberal, it is accompanied by an announcement that it is not reflective of the network's views and certainly not of the sponsor.

It took the quiz show scandal to get the Federal Communications Commission to force ABC-TV to present one hour of "public service" programming a week. Reluctantly, the network agreed to do the "egghead bit" sandwiched between Sunset Strip and Lawman because somewhere in the law it says the airways belong to the people.

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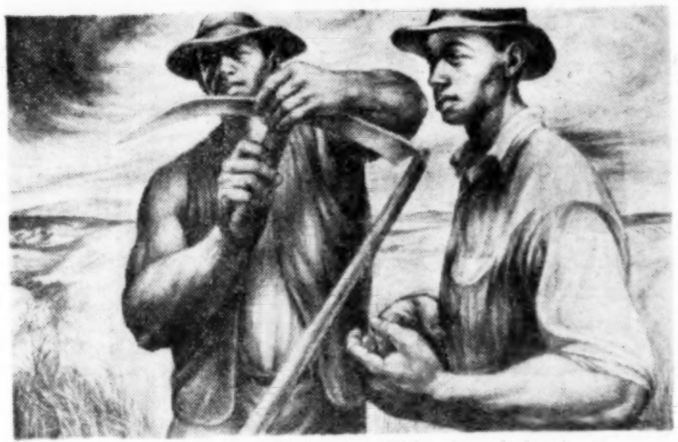

Harvest Talk, by Charles White (see below)

EACH YEAR NEGRO HISTORY WEEK falls during the second week in February. All GUARDIAN readers will agree, however, that an understanding of Negro history and an awareness of the link between the battle for Negro equality and the fight for a democratic America should be cultivated 52 weeks a year. One of the ways to realize this understanding is through a deeper familiarity with Negro writing, music and art. Here are some of the finest examples of contemporary Negro art to honor the occasion, and to help make the fight for equality a year-round job.

The Art of Charles White

Six fine-screen lithograhs, each 10½" x 16", of the extraordinary art of Charles White, with an introduction by Rockwell Kent. The six drawings are **The Mother, Dawn of Life, Let's Walk Together, Ye Shall Inherit the Earth, Harvest Talk,** and **Lincoln.** Originally published by **Masses and Mainstream** at $3. Suitable for framing. A lovely gift. **GUARDIAN PRICE** $2

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NEWSPAPER

MUSIC
(Any Three for $10)

V 9051 — PAUL ROBESON AT CARNEGIE HALL—One of Robeson's finest records, containing two gems—the "I have given the state some service" reading from **Othello**, and a short reading and song from **Boris Godunov.**

SIDE ONE: Every Time I Feel The Spirit, Balm In Gilead, Volga Boat Song, Monologue from Othello, O Thou Silent Night, Chinese Children's Song, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River and Going Home. **SIDE TWO:** Monologue from "Boris," The Orphan, Christ lag in Todesbanden, Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel, Schubert's Lullaby, O No John, Joe Hill, Jacob's Ladder. Piano accompaniment by Alan Booth. Recorded in 1958. ....$3.75

M 580 — PAUL ROBESON—FAVORITE SONGS—A Monitor release of Robeson's favorite songs, accompanied by Alan Booth or Lawrence Brown. Hammer Song features Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee.

ODETTA

V 9059—MY EYES HAVE SEEN—A wonderful album which has not yet received the attention it deserves. Prison song, work song or spiritual, Odetta knows the meaning of the songs she sings. **$3.75**

LEON BIBB

V 9041—LEON BIBB SINGS FOLK SONGS, with chorus and orchestra conducted by Milt Okun, and Fred Hellerman on the guitar. A collection of American songs beautifully sung and arranged.

SIDE ONE: Sinner Man, East Virginia, Turtle Dove, Darlin', Rocks and Gravel, Poor Lolette. **SIDE TWO:** Look Over Yonder, Red Rosy Bush, Take This Hammer, Skillet, Jerry, Dink's Blues and Irene. $3.75

POETRY OF THE NEGRO, read by SIDNEY POITIER—A treasured addition to any library. Fifteen poems by Paul Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Carl Holman and Armand Lanusse read by the actor. A NEW GBS PRICE $3.50

JOHN SELLERS

MP 505. BROTHER JOHN SELLERS—"BIG BOAT UP THE RIVER." Sellers is a jazz-folk singer who learned to sing in church in Mississippi, developed his style from work with Mahalia Jackson and Big Bill Broonzy and matured as an artist in nightclubs and theaters in the U.S., Canada and Europe.

Songs include: Big Boat Up The River, Feelin' Sad and Blue, Trouble Is A Woman, Something Strange Is Going On Wrong, When I Was A Little Boy, You Get A Line And I'll Get A Pole, Strange Fruit, Chain Gang, City Called Heaven, Watermelon On The Vine, Prison Wall Blues and Martha Blues $3.75

BOOKS

IN BATTLE FOR PEACE—The Story of My 83rd Birthday, **by W. E. B. Du Bois. An account of the stormy events in a single year in the life of the great Negro scholar.** **$1**

TOWARD NEGRO FREEDOM, by Herbert Aptheker. Historic highlights in the life and struggles of the Negro people from colonial days to the present. **$1.50**

LIKE ONE OF THE FAMILY, by Alice Childress. "An amusing, thought provoking, easy to read, warmly human book .. .. .."—Langston Hughes. **$1**

CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE—A Biography of Martin Luther King, by L. D. Reddick. The background of a leader and the fascinating story of his involvement in the historic Montgomery bus protest, by a scholar who was one of his colleagues and advisors............**$3.95**

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C. Vann Woodward. A brief account of segregation from 1877 to the present. Revised and enlarged in 1957. ....**75c**

IRON CITY, by Lloyd L. Brown. A fine novel of the fight for racial equality in Pittsburgh. **$1**

Children's Books
(Ages 5 to 9)

ENTER IN, by Laura Lewis, with illustrations by Ernest Crichlow. A charming book of verses for 4- to 9-year-olds, with illustrations of Negro and white children playing together. **$2**

TWO IS A TEAM, by Lorraine and Gerrold Beim, with drawings in black and white and color by Ernest Crichlow. Two boys, Negro and white, overcome a childish quarrel and together build a coaster which brings them adventure and first-hand experience in the value of teamwork. A delightful book. $2.50

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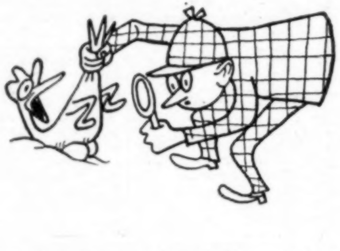
the SPECTATOR

Youth fights back

THOSE MEMBERS of the House Committee on Un-American Activities who might have seen us on January 28 in Washington D.C., must have been very much surprised. Five young New Yorkers had been subpenaed one and a half weeks before to appear at hearings on their participation in World Youth Festivals and perhaps the Committee thought nothing could be done in so little time.

Yet there we stood on Capitol Hill, 75 members of Youth Against the Un-American Committee—all in our teens and twenties—determined to spend the day urging Congressmen, newspapermen and representatives of national organizations to object to the hearings.

A few minutes after we had arrived, we stood studying maps of Washington and pinned protest badges on our coats. Two tall policemen told us that no one was allowed to wear or carry any "controversial" material on "The Hill." So minus badges, we set out in small groups of four and five—undaunted—to catch Congressmen before they left for lunch.



This was not the only difficulty we had with police during the day. Evidently word had spread rapidly throughout Capitol Hill that we were there; at one time or another, most of our groups were stopped by the police for some reason or another. A repeated tactic was to delay groups so that they were unable to see their Congressmen. For example, one was asked to step outside the office of Rep. Seymour Halpern (R-N.Y.) and wait for a "lieutenant"—who never came. After waiting 20 futile minutes, the young people were told they could go, but naturally—it was too late. Rep. Halpern had another appointment.

OTHER GROUPS were stopped and warned that they could not leave any literature for Congressmen unless specifically asked to do so.

But possibly the worst incident of the day happened when one group was asked to leave the office of Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) after he had called the police.

We did get to see many Congressmen, however—in spite of the police—and some reactions were very encouraging. Rep. John Lindsay (R-N.Y.) promised to do all he could to "bring about a face-to-face meeting with this group of young people and the leadership of the House" [Speaker Rayburn and Majority Leader McCormack].

Rep. William Meyer (D-Vt.) expressed his opposition to the methods of the Committee and said: "I am opposed to any body which seeks to punish by publicity that which is unlawful to punish by law."

And there were many others who supported us, either by endorsing the right of young people to attend Festivals or by criticizing the actions of the Un-American Committee: Rep. William Bray (R-Wis.), Rep. Chester Bowles (D-Conn.), Rep. Byron Johnson (R-Colo.), and Rep. Frances Bolton (R-Ohio).

JUST BEFORE we started for home, we rushed to report our results to the newspapermen gathered at the Willard Hotel for a press conference with three of the subpenaed young people on the Festival and their attitudes toward the Un-American Committee.

Most of us had been up since 4 a.m. and wanted to sleep on the way home to New York. But we couldn't. There was so much to talk about; one tall blond 17-year-old jumped on his seat, bumping his head on the baggage railing as he excitedly told of the really wonderful statements from the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Council on Human Rights, the American Veterans Committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Each of us felt that we had struck a blow for our generation that day. We knew that the Committee was not interested only in five individuals but that it wanted to intimidate all young Americans interested in peace and prevent them from participating in international exchanges.

But we have not been intimidated and we will not be.

By the time this is in print, we will have been to Washington again, for the hearings of the five beginning Feb. 7. We will demonstrate our protest by attending and picketing these hearings. And this time, we will be 200 strong.

—Youths Against the Un-American Committee.